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LONDON, NOVEMBER 28, 1831.

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The accounts from Lyons present an edifying picture of the natural progress and results of political innovation. We thence may obtain a faint and imperfect notion of the scenes which must inevitably arise in Great Britain if the present system of Government be persisted in much longer, a system similar to that of the Liberal party in France, of promising the labouring classes of the community an exemption from evils, and an acquisition of advantages, as the consequences of changes in the Constitution, which such changes have a direct tendency not to produce but to prevent. Those of the ignorant classes who have been taught to clamour for the Bill in the hope of the practical advantages it would afford them, would, it is unnecessary to say, have experienced, in the event of its having come into operation, the most severe, galling, and exasperating disappointment. For the effect of such a disappointment we refer to the scenes which have been acted at Lyons. The French people have had a Parliamentary Reform, and a Monarchical Reform into the bargain. They got a Citizen King, a reformed House of Commons, and a degraded House of Peers. What more could they desire? The answer is short, but it is, or ought to be, appalling to the heart of agitators and innovators in every country. Employment and bread! And is it possible then that a people can want employment and bread who enjoy the unspeakable advantages of a Citizen King, a reformed House of Commons, and a degraded Peerage? The people of Lyons feel that their cost that it is so, and they naturally, we had almost said justly and properly, wreak their vengeance upon the rash or wicked experimentalists or impostors who excited expectations which they now find to have been utterly delusive. The well-dressed people, the payers of direct contributions, the National Guards, those portions of society which most contributed to the excitement that preceded and produced the Revolution of July; the voters who returned that Chamber of Deputies which attempted to subvert the legitimate authority of the French Crown—these are the classes who are the objects of indignation to the sufferers of the lower orders, whom that Revolution has not benefited, as they were fraudulently led to expect, but has, on the contrary, reduced to wretchedness and famine. And who shall deny that this is just? Or, if a similar fate should befall the more desperate or more foolish men who in this country have agitated the popular mind with hopes equally delusive—men more desperate and more foolish, inasmuch as this country is more happy and prosperous under its existing Constitution than France ever was in the best of her days, that they also will meet with no more than their due reward? Those who disturb the tranquillity of a nation, unsettle its habits, paralyse its commercial enterprise, render its capital stagnant, suspend its peaceful industry, reduce the multitudes of its inhabitants to wretchedness and want, for sake of speculative improvements in the frame-work of its Government, incur a terrible, and, in most cases, a needless responsibility; nor can it excite regret in any reasonable mind that when the season of popular disappointment and popular frenzy shall arrive, as arrive it must, they, the original authors of the calamity, should be among the first of its victims. (Post.)

The riots which have taken place at Lyons have a peculiar claim on our attention at this moment, from the lesson they furnish to ourselves. We here see the workmen of a suburb of a city, which had a garrison of 6,000 troops (some accounts say 3,000), and a numerous National Guard (two-thirds of which, even by the most unfavourable accounts, were well affected), carry every thing before them, and retain for three days military possession of all important points. We would just call the attention of those twaddlers among ourselves who talk of special constables, with such support as can be obtained from small detachments of soldiers and a few yeomanry cavalry, being sufficient for the preservation of the peace, to what has taken place at Lyons. In what town of this kingdom, London excepted, have we 6,000 troops, or even 3,000? But how many manufacturing neighbourhoods have we, with populations fearfully numerous in case of a general want of employment. Let those who calculate too confidently on the cowardice of the mobs of this country, only recollect what took place in the towns of Scotland at the last general elections. There are among the working classes, in the towns of the north, men with scheming heads and daring courage, on whom the lessons of Paris and Lyons will not be thrown away, if distress should drive them to desperation. We have received a sensible letter from Manchester, from an individual who happened to be in Salisbury on the 2d of November, which happened to be the drill-day of the Salisbury volunteers, and he expresses himself astonished at the skillful manner in which they performed the difficult manoeuvre of street-firing, and their order at the charge with bayonet. His observations on the absolute necessity of forming similar corps, without loss of time, in all the towns, appear to us to deserve the utmost attention. We fear the ominous prospects to which he alludes will render such a resource indispensable. For what is the state of things in this country? The Leeds Mercury of Saturday states that the unemployed workmen in Leeds are becoming more and more numerous. On Monday last there was a public meeting at Paisley, for the purpose of raising a subscription for the unemployed weavers, the report of which occupies two columns of the Glasgow Chronicle. At this meeting great fault was found

by some of the speakers at the conduct of some of the constituted authorities. Mr. Spiers, of Elderslie, said, "he held it to be a shame to the county that the Lord Lieutenant was not present." (He had, however, it is but fair to add, sent £50 as a subscription.)—He considered that it was wholly to the Political Union they were indebted for the peace of the country being preserved, and if the authorities were not stirring up mischief, they were not taking proper means to preserve the peace.—(Cries of Order! amidst mingled applause and hisses.)—Such is the aspect of affairs among ourselves. If Ministers do not make provision against it in time, dreadful will be their responsibility. (CHRONICLE.)

The insurrection and outrages at Lyons have excited this morning great surprise and some alarm throughout the metropolis, and will no doubt shake the conviction which had begun to be felt, that France was settling down into a state of perfect quiet. It cannot, indeed, be considered as an unimportant event, that the populace of the second city in the kingdom, after a conflict for three days with a powerful garrison, aided by a large body of national troops, have compelled the armed force to leave the place, and have now the undisputed possession of it. There does not appear, however, to be any thing in the riots to give cause for alarm as to the general tranquillity of France. The riots seem to have arisen from local distress, and have been rendered formidable by the warlike spirit which the French populace have acquired during the last forty years. We believe it is also true, that when distress does prevail in France the people suffer misery, of the bitterness and extent of which there is happily in this country no experience. We do not believe, nevertheless, that the stability of the Government of France will be at all brought in question—on the contrary, the spectacle of a city in the power of a mob may rather tend to confirm it. It has been deemed impolitic by some, who recollect the events at Brussels, that the Duke of Orleans should have been sent against the insurgents, and they call to our mind that the sending of the son of the King of Holland against the insurgents of Belgium tended finally to exclude his family from that country. But there is no parity in the cases: the insurrection at Lyons is not national, or even a rebellion of a province, but a struggle of classes—a riot of workmen against their masters—a struggle for wages or for bread. Nor is the Duke of Orleans to command the numerous troops sent against Lyons: they are to be under the orders of Soult, and the Duke of Orleans is only to appear in acts of conciliation and mercy. The collection of large masses of people in manufacturing districts has introduced into parts of modern Europe a condition of society unknown in any former times, and it may be asked with some apprehension whether the riots of Lyons, which will not be the last, will be the most formidable of the disorders which will be related to have arisen from it. The manufacturing towns in Great Britain are continually increasing in magnitude and relative importance. We hope there will be continually increasing efforts to give the vast population they contain reason to be satisfied with the Government under which they live, and to guard them against the evils of those vicissitudes to which they are now exposed. There is one peculiar temporary danger connected with our manufacturing population, against which prudent and honest statesmen of whatever party should be anxious to guard—the recurrence of manufacturing distress during the general political excitement which must continue till the Reform Bill is finally settled. (GLOBE.)

The immediate cause of the revolt at Lyons appears to have been great distress among the workmen, but it is pretty evident that the emissaries of the ex-Royal Family and the Republicans and Bonapartists had been active in urging the workmen to rebellion. If very acute distress had not prevailed at Lyons, it would have been impossible to have produced the lamentable scenes of which we now hear; but it is not to be wondered at that, with newspapers containing daily appeals to the passions—with emissaries hourly insinuating themselves into the confidence of the lower orders, and hinting at a probability of advantage in rebellion—and with death from starvation staring them in the face—it is not to be wondered at, we say, that men thus urged and influenced should tempt fortune in the rudest way, and hazard their lives in the hope of improving their condition. At present we do not possess the means of judging to what extent political feeling may have been mixed up with the cry of distress; but we have no hesitation in expressing our belief, that many of the workmen have been induced to take part in the commotion, as much by a conviction that the Revolution of 1830 has not given to them the political rights which they had been led to expect, as by the distress of their situation. Among these persons are some who have read the well-founded complaints of thinking men as to the imperfect state of the representation, and who, like those whose sentiments have been communicated to them, do not understand why, of thirty-three millions of French, not one in 150 has the right of voting. The revolt has not, as some of the French papers pretend, been entirely non-political. Distress may have been the chief, but it certainly was not the only cause; and we will repeat, for the hundredth time, that if Louis Philip expects to retain his Crown, he must give a larger share of political rights to the people. We do not say that the possession of more political power in the way of representation would have prevented the distress of the lower orders at Lyons. We do not pretend that there would, in such case be no dissatisfaction; but we do say, that if the French people were more extensively represented, they would allow their griefs to find vent through a legitimate channel, and not rush to outrage as the only

means of showing that they are discontented. Let them know, and feel, that their interests are represented and advocated in the Chamber of Deputies, by Members chosen by all who contribute in direct taxes, however small the amount, to the support of the State, and they will not listen to the suggestions of the political fiends who now instigate them to rebellion, in the hope of making the confusion which is expected to ensue the stepping-stone to power. If the representative system in France were on a broader basis, the wants and complaints of the people would be known to the Throne and to the Government through the Chamber of Deputies. Carlists and Bonapartists, and Republicans, would not then find a mass ready for kneading to their own purposes. We are not surprised to see our anti-Reformers already chuckling at this calamity. "Give us plenty of fires," said a great anti-Reformer the other day. "They are the things to fight our battle. The farmers, and all who have any thing to lose, will attribute them to misgovernment, the King will take fright, and we shall be again called to power." Next to fires and riots at home, the anti-Reformers delight in any disturbance of the constitutional machine abroad. "See what your Revolution of 1830 has brought," say they. "Behold the fruits." Mischievous dolts! Do you forget the cause which you witness the effect of a revolution? Do you not know that if Reform had not been denied revolution would have been averted—that if Charles X. had not been a tyrant, and his Ministers corrupt and ignorant, there would have been no outrage upon the social system—that if rights had not been withheld there would have been no violent but just attempt to seize them, and that, consequently, the bitter fruit which the Revolution has brought forth at Lyons would never have come to maturity? Does any reflecting man deny that revolutions are at the best evils, which are only to be endured because they remove still greater evils; and do the friends of Reform underrate the calamities to which they but too frequently lead? No; they regret deeply the inevitable results of a shock between the people and their governors; but they do not therefore say that corruption and tyranny are legitimate. To those who admire the rule of a Sultan or a Dey, every attempt to reform abuses, and to control the exercise of power, must appear criminal; but as the people of France did not chuse to live in the bondage of slaves, they demanded Reform, and Reform being denied, the consequence was Revolution. If that Revolution has produced some bitter fruit, who are to be blamed—the Reformers? No—those who denied Reform, and who were the true revolutionists. What would be the condition of this country, if afflicted with such a Sovereign as Charles X.? The complaints of the people would be despised; the demand for Reform, raised by the wealthy and intellectual as well as by the mass, would be unheeded, and a Revolution would be inevitable. Here the justice and necessity of Reform are felt. Nineteen out of twenty declare that they would risk life to obtain it. What then, if it were to be withheld—what, if Revolution with all its horrors—loss of trade, temporary misrule, and repeated party struggles for supremacy, should arrive—what, if from being great and powerful, the dictators of nations, a Revolution should make Great Britain for a time powerless—who would be to blame—the Reformers who desired only Reform or the anti-Reform faction who gave no choice between slavery and Revolution? There is nothing in the revolt of Lyons which ought to gratify any man. It may or may not be a consequence of the Revolution of 1830, but if it be a consequence of that event, heavy must the curse of righteous men fall on those who, by withholding Reform, provoked Revolution. What has happened in Paris and at Brussels—what is happening now at Lyons, and what will happen in all countries where a factious few may attempt to exercise arbitrary power against wealth, and intellect, and industry, would happen here if we were not blessed with a patriot King and a wise Ministry. Here, and here only, the throne and the Legislature will acknowledge the necessity of Reform, and avert every cause for Revolution. One by one every despotic State of Europe will be revolutionised if the cry for Reform remain unheeded, but England will be a beacon of light for the freemen of all nations. (COURIER.)

We learn from Dublin that a Brunswick Association is getting up as a counterpoise to that of Mr. O'Connell. We cannot affect surprise at this intention, looking at the tone assumed by that able but too equivocal politician in his recent speeches *ad populum* in Dublin. It is to little purpose to draw up calm and rational resolutions for universal adoption, if they are to be attended with all sorts of clamour and declamation, not only exhibitive of the inveteracy of party-spirit, but calculated to render the existence of rancorous party-spirit eternal. Poor Ireland, it seems fated to remain a doomed country to the last, its own offspring being eternally Theban brothers to each other. The return of Mr. Stanley to London (who will arrive this day) is attributed with great avidity, both by the Tory and Liberal Journals, to a *recal*. We scarcely need add that it is simply to attend the Cabinet Councils rendered necessary by the approaching meeting of Parliament. (GLOBE.)

We are sorry to learn that the blasphemous fooleries to which we have more than once alluded are allowed still to go on in the Caledonian Church in Regent-square. The reverend mountebank of that establishment has now systematised his absurdities—has assigned the actors and actresses their places and parts—and regulated the time when he will permit the visitation of the spirit to interfere with his own management. Miss Hall, one of his performers, we learn,

does not confine the exercise of her gift to the place of worship in Regent-square, but has lately been exhibiting in a bonnet-shop, to the greater alarm than edification of the neighbourhood. As the spirit is thus not confined to any locality, we would recommend the whole set, male and female, to be sent to perform in a certain house near Brixton. The forms of folly are infinite—but really we could least of all have expected to find, in the nineteenth century, in the most enlightened city in the world, and among a class of people raised above brute ignorance, the present modification of absurdity—the blasphemous attempt to represent the inarticulate sounds, proceeding from impostors or fanatics, as the inspiration of Heaven. The oracular deceptions of Delphi and Dodona, and the miraculous cures performed at the tomb of the Abbé Paris, were respectable and rational when compared with the performances in the Caledonian Chapel. We should be sorry to put down a blasphemous absurdity by a profane jest, otherwise we would recommend to the attention of the trustees the mock ordinance which terminated the deceptions of the French impostors.—Let them, like the French Government, lock the doors of the chapel, and substitute for its present inscription that of the Paris wit—

"—d'ense à Dieu
De faire miracles en ces lieux!"

and then we shall have an end of those scenes, which are a disgrace at once to European civilisation and to human reason. (TIMES.)

STOCK EXCHANGE, NOV. 28, Twelve o'Clock.—There is not much doing in Consols; in consequence of the news of the insurrection at Lyons they have rather declined, being 83½ for Account, and 83 for Money. This event forms the general topic of conversation on 'Change.

Two o'Clock.—Consols have not varied. In the Foreign market Dutch stock has fallen to 41½, on account of the announcement of a new 5 per cent. loan. Russian is 99¼; ditto New, 94¾; Spanish, 13¾ 14; French Three per Cents., 68fr. 67½fr.; Danish, 66 65½; Greek, 21 23; Portuguese, 49 50; Brazilian, 4¼; Columbian, 13 14; Chilean, 18½; Mexican, 33 33½; Peruvian, 11 12.

Four o'Clock.—Consols are 83½. The settlement of the last account in Consols has extended, it seems, in its consequences, much beyond those failures of members of the Stock Exchange which have been publicly announced. A great number of other failures have been privately arranged, and many more who have escaped have been brought by severe losses to the verge of the same calamity. It is a misfortune necessarily attendant on such an establishment as the Stock Exchange, that being composed of many more members than possibly subsist by the transaction of the regular business, a large portion of them have no alternative but to take to gambling themselves, or become the medium, and make themselves responsible, for the speculative transactions of others. In proportion to the very limited business which exists even of this latter description, the members become the more anxious, and expose themselves to the greater degree of risk to obtain it. Hence they are often the easy prey of unprincipled adventurers, who, without a shilling of property, find means to engage in time-bargains in the funds to an immense amount. If the game goes in their favour, they of course quietly pocket their gains, and the broker congratulates himself on having so excellent a client; but at the first reverse that happens, as there are no legal means of compelling payment on such transactions, he is sure to be left in the lurch: he is not only ruined himself, but having conducted his bargains through a number of other persons, ruins them also. By the rules of the Stock Exchange, they are all liable to expulsion in cases of default, and are deprived of the only respectable means for doing business in the funds, which is in most instances total ruin; the speculator, whose tools and dupes they have been, laughs at their folly. But the speculators of the Stock Exchange, as a body, also suffer severely from the bias they appear to have for speculations for the fall, and though frequently successful at the commencement of any great crisis of public affairs, always pursue it too far, and in the end lose all they have gained, or ruin themselves. Both these causes have been at work in the late Consol account, though the great mischief has been produced by the obstinate perseverance of the members in the latter course. None of the leading men of the Stock Exchange have, however, given way, though the numbers of the inferior class who have failed make up together a very large aggregate of loss. (TIMES.)

Quebec Papers to the 25th, and Montreal to the 28th October, have arrived. The latter quote the following paragraph from a Halifax Journal of the 21st:—"A letter from St. Vincent's states that another and severer gale had been experienced at Barbadoes on the 22d September, when upwards of 9,000 lives were lost." If the above had been true, we should have received it ere this from other quarters. (Sun.)

Calcutta Papers to the 16th of July, and Madras to the 19th, have arrived; the latter contain no news, and the principal feature of public interest in the former is the Petition of the Merchants, praying that the cotton and silk manufactures of Bengal shall be put upon the same footing as to the payment of import duty into this country as those of England are when imported into India. These papers bring the melancholy tidings of the death of Dr. Turner, the Bishop of Calcutta, an event which occurred during the discharge of his christian duties in the interior of the country. They also announce the death of that distinguished traveller and amiable man, Count Vidua, well known in Calcutta. The following is an extract of a letter from Batavia, dated the 28th of April, communicating information of

Figure 1

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306... 308... 310... 312... 314... 316... 318... 320... 322... 324... 326... 328... 330... 332... 334... 336... 338... 340... 342... 344... 346... 348... 350... 352... 354... 356... 358... 360... 362... 364... 366... 368... 370... 372... 374... 376... 378... 380... 382... 384... 386... 388... 390... 392... 394... 396... 398... 400... 402... 404... 406... 408... 410... 412... 414... 416... 418... 420... 422... 424... 426... 428... 430... 432... 434... 436... 438... 440... 442... 444... 446... 448... 450... 452... 454... 456... 458... 460... 462... 464... 466... 468... 470... 472... 474... 476... 478... 480... 482... 484... 486... 488... 490... 492... 494... 496... 498... 500... 502... 504... 506... 508... 510... 512... 514... 516... 518... 520... 522... 524... 526... 528... 530... 532... 534... 536... 538... 540... 542... 544... 546... 548... 550... 552... 554... 556... 558... 560... 562... 564... 566... 568... 570... 572... 574... 576... 578... 580... 582... 584... 586... 588... 590... 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N.° 5228.

PARIS, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1831.

London and Paris
OBSERVER,
Or Weekly Chronicle of Literature, Science,
and the Fine Arts;

Being a Repository of the most valuable portion of
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One franc per quarter must be added to receive it in
France, and two out of the Kingdom.

PRICE 10 SOUS.

Great-Britain.

LONDON, DECEMBER 9, 1831.

Of the questions of foreign policy, to the considera-
tion of which Parliament is loudly called, the most
deeply interesting to the honour and interests of the
country are those which relate to our existing relations
with Holland and with Portugal. Is the existence of
Holland as an independent nation to be sacrificed to
the unholy alliance of the more powerful States of
Europe, the formation of which required the combined
influence of England under the present Administration
and of Revolutionary France, and the object of which
is neither English, nor Austrian, nor Russian, nor
Prussian, but peculiarly and exclusively French—that
of sanctifying and perpetuating the results of Revolution?
And should the King of Holland remain firm
in his resistance of Revolutionary oppression, and
some of the parties to the unholy alliance, as is in that
case probable also, shrink from perpetrating the full
iniquity to which they are pledged, shall England be-
come the single Ally of France in a Revolutionary war
against the security of every European throne? Nor
are the questions springing out of the anomalies and
unfortunate and disgraceful position of Great Britain
with respect to Portuguese affairs less momentous. Is
England to remain, as she has been for some months
past, the focus of a meditated Portuguese Revolution?
Are we to continue to connive at, and even to assist,
the preparation of a hostile armament against a coun-
try which by express treaty we are bound to protect,
and from which, under its existing Government, we
insist upon the uninterrupted enjoyment of all the pecu-
liar privileges which were the stipulated price of that
protection? Is the good faith of the country to be
tarnished, and its most important interests endangered,
because many Members of the existing Administration
have indulged their habitual tendency to scurrilous
vituperation in the case of Don Miguel, and dread to
encounter the decision or the reproaches of their liberal
supporters? These are practical questions, which de-
mand a prompt decision, and which, with many
others of scarcely less importance, ought to occupy
the attention of the Legislature before it rushes into
the discussion of any speculative project of Constitu-
tional innovation.—(Post.)

We have received a very interesting report on the
present condition, resources, and beneficial operation,
of the Bank of the United States of North America,
made by its board of directors to the body of stock-
holders and to the public, on the 1st September last.
That establishment, so far from dreading the fullest
disclosure of its affairs, or from enveloping itself in
mysterious reserve, like an institution nearer home, is
obliged by an article of its charter to lay before the
stockholders, "once in every three years, an exact and
particular statement of the debts which shall have re-
mained after the expiration of the original credit, and
of the surplus of the profits after deducting losses and
dividends." This duty the directors have more than
fulfilled on the present occasion, by entering into a ge-
neral history of the transactions of the Bank for several
years,—by giving an account of its effects upon the
currency of the United States,—by detailing its con-
nection with the revenue of the government, and by a
full statement of the circumstances which have ad-
vanced its prosperity, or diminished its profits, from its
origin up to the present period. The document before
us, in short, leaves nothing to be desired in point of
information on a very interesting topic. The capital
stock of the United States Bank consists of 350,000
shares of 100 dollars each, or 35,000,000 of dollars;
about equal to £7,000,000. Of this fund the govern-
ment of the union owns one-fifth, or 70,000 shares;
and consequently 280,000 are in the hands of individual
proprietors. These proprietors now amount to 4,143,
and are spread over all the states of the union. In
Pennsylvania the number of proprietors is 937, and
their amount of subscription 5,638 shares. About
80,000 shares belong to 466 foreign stockholders. The
different members of the union are holders of this stock,
nearly in proportion to their general wealth or to the
amount of their commercial transactions. From the
analysis of the list of shareholders, it appears that this
mass of property is widely diffused, and has no ten-
dency to accumulate in a few hands. Of the domestic
stockholders 766 are holders of shares below 500 dol-
lars; 1,479 are holders of shares below 1,000 dollars;
and 2,865 are holders of shares amounting to about
5,000 dollars. As the shareholders are spread over
the union, so, for the convenience of the parties, and
for the more extensive transaction of business, the
bank by its branches appears in every state of the con-
federacy. Besides the parent institution, it has 25
offices to manage its transactions in so many distant
localities, and applications have been sent in from 30
additional places, soliciting the establishment of new
branches. This flourishing establishment, which has
already struck its roots so deeply in the American soil,
and is covering the union with its branches, has not
yet had fifteen years of existence. It was planted in
1816 or 1817; and though thus young, has passed
through several storms affecting public credit. It has,
however, resisted them all, and by this report appears
to be gaining strength, and rising in utility every year.
The extent of its operations, and of the accommodation it
lends to trade, may be estimated from the fact that on the
1st Aug. last it had discounted bills, on personal secu-
rity, to the amount of 41,585,298 dollars, and domestic
bills of exchange to the amount of 14,409,479, and held
in notes and specie 27,037,735; in short, without enu-
merating all the items, that its transactions amounted
to 118,993,323 dollars, or about £24,000,000 sterling.

The accommodation which it affords to trade forms
a curious contrast with that which is lent by the Bank
of England with a capital of double the amount. The
following account of the investments in the Bank, and
of the distribution of its funds, when the report was
drawn, will best explain the amount and the nature
of its business:—

THE INVESTMENTS OF THE BANK.	
Capital paid in	Dollars. Ct.
The Circulation	35,000,000 00
Deposits	22,399,447 52
Public	Dollars. Ct.
Private	7,252,249 42
Due to individuals in Europe	16,368,085 89
Unclaimed dividends	158,372 72
Contingent fund to meet losses	251,770 03
Discount, exchange, and interest, including for- eign exchanges	5,613,173 15
Profit and loss	614,685 07
	1,750,048 51
	82,165,578 89
DISTRIBUTION.	
Funded debt	3,497,681 06
Real estate	82,165,578 89
Due from sundry offices and banks	2,491,892 99
Expenses, etc.	621,521 08
Banking houses	259,383 50
Notes of State Banks	1,460,455 54
Specie	2,804,442 33
	11,545,116 51

The real estate here alluded to is real property taken
in payment of debt, as contradistinguished from mort-
gages, on which the Bank lays out a very small portion
of its funds. This extensive establishment, though it
has encountered considerable losses, has hitherto flour-
ished beyond expectation. It has paid off a bonus of
1,500,000 dollars for its charter. It has in hand
a surplus fund of 1,750,000 dollars, and it yields a
dividend of 7 per cent. per annum on the whole of its
stock. Every farthing of its nominal stock has been
paid in, even including the 70,000 shares held by the
Government. Thus solid in its structure—extensive
in its operations—and profitable to the proprietors, it
has been of still greater advantage to the general com-
mercial interests of the Union. It was instituted to re-
store specie payments, which had been discontinued
in most of the States,—for supplying a sounder currency
than that of the local banks, and for giving more uni-
formity to the exchanges between the different sections of
the confederacy. It has been wonderfully successful in
all these objects. In the first year of its existence, it
imported 2,000,000 of dollars to improve the currency,
and since the 1st January, 1831, it has sent 12,046,415
of dollars to the mint, to be converted into American
coin. "The circulation of the United States Bank-
notes, amounting to about 20,000,000," says the re-
port, "is in all respects equal, and in most respects
superior, to any metallic currency of the same amount.
Indeed, there is not now, and probably never has been,
in any other extensive country, a paper currency com-
parable to this for the union of all the qualities of a
good circulating medium, perfect security, easy con-
vertibility into the metals, and general uniformity of
value." This last point is of great importance, as, be-
fore the institution of this national bank, the currency
was dissimilar in almost every State of the Union,
and the exchanges between its different commercial
towns varied as much as between them and kingdoms
in another hemisphere. Thus, for instance, the ex-
change between Philadelphia and Boston was 17 per
cent.; between Philadelphia and New York 9½, and
so in other cases. The inconvenience thus felt in col-
lecting and transmitting the general revenue, and in all
commercial transactions, may easily be conceived.
Here, therefore, is an institution which, by being
founded on correct principles of banking, and by being
managed on the system of frank and unreserved pub-
licity, has fulfilled all the objects of its establishment—
has purified the local currencies of the different States
—has given uniformity to the exchanges—has enabled
the general revenue to be transmitted to the general
treasury without delay or loss—has aided commerce
to a greater amount than any bank in the known world
—has given security against the depreciation of the
local currency—and has never been liable to be abused
for political objects. Surely the report cannot be true,
that, for electioneering purposes, and from an appre-
hension that the influence exercised by the Bank over
the local establishments may be turned against him, the
present President, General Jackson, looks upon this
institution with an evil eye, and is disposed to resist
the renewal of its charter.—(Times.)

A scientific journal just published invites the Go-
vernment to amend the Reform Bill by conferring the
nomination of two or more representatives on some
eight or ten of the chief literary and scientific institu-
tions of the metropolis. The writer of the article, in
his enumeration of the societies entitled to this privi-
lege, mentions the Royal Society, the Royal Society of
Literature, the Geological Society, the Astronomical
Society, the Royal Academy, the Antiquarian Society,
the College of Physicians, the College of Surgeons, the
Geographical Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the
Linnean Society. We have seen numerous and varied,
not to say contradictory projects, for improv-
ing the Reform Bill, but we scarcely expected a sug-
gestion like the present to be seriously made; and its
appearance in a philosophical journal, which expresses

the opinions, and probably would unite the votes, of a
great body of scientific men, shows how much abstract
science, or art, may be separated from sober every-day
reflection, and sound practical knowledge. The very
idea of personifying such associations by a member in
a legislative assembly evinces a total misapprehension
of the object of Parliamentary representation. As in-
dividuals, the members who compose those societies
have, or ought to have, no legislative interests or views
different from those of the general community—as so-
cieties, or corporate bodies, they are themselves a spe-
cies of representation, whose ultimate objects are gained
by their co-operative union. The members of the
Royal Society, for instance, represent, or ought to re-
present, the science of the country. They are, or ought
to be, a kind of constant delegation of the most emi-
nent characters who have devoted their lives to philo-
sophical pursuits, or illustrated their names by in-
genious discoveries. Their Parliament sits in Somerset-
house—and the acts of their sessions are to be found in
the volumes of their Transactions. Suppose this learned
and scientific body should desire to be represented
in St. Stephen's, and should send an astronomer, a
chymist, or mathematician, to be its mouth-piece in
the House, he would be very much puzzled to know
what to ask, or what to do on behalf of his corporation,
which could not be done by any other lay member,
who neither knew chymistry, astronomy, nor fluxions.
It is but seldom that Parliament legislates on science,
and when it does so, it cannot consider knowledge as
the exclusive interest or separate possession of a So-
merset-house coterie.—(Times.)

In advertising to a salutary address of the Catholic
prelate Dr. Doyle to the deluded and disorderly peas-
antry of Ireland, we intimated that the reception of it
appeared to be very cold on the part of agitation and
its great apostle. The truth has now come out, Mr.
O'Connell denounces both the worthy prelate and Lord
Cloncurry as being something which, divested of all
circumlocution, means enemies of their country. The
sin against the Holy Ghost is their daring to speak well
of Ministerial intentions as respects Irish amelioration,
and of the patriotic views and purposes of Lord An-
glesea. It is impossible to conceive a more intolerable
assumption than that of a regular and systematic assail-
ment and degradation of every human being who can-
not be made to dangle unresistingly at the end of every
vine of agitation which receives its impulse from the
hands of Mr. O'Connell. We neither understand nor
deny the eminent abilities and even services, both di-
rect and incidental, of that extraordinary man; but no
service and no talents, however exalted, either for
public or private ends, are entitled to demand this im-
plicit prostration of reason, or to authorise a sort of
yell of excommunication against every body and every
thing which can imply a real presence without the
pale of Mr. O'Connell's coterie. We have before had
occasion to observe that the demand of such submission,
or—not a pistol to be sure, but something that circum-
stances may render quite as dangerous—is as discredit-
able to those who make as to those who submit to it.
It exacts a degree of mental subservience unparalleled,
and should be spurned at accordingly. We think we
perceive symptoms of this system recoiling against its
author, and feel convinced that a short time will prove
the correctness of our anticipations.—(Globe.)

The accounts lately received from Bombay contain
some interesting particulars of the mission of Lieut.
Burnes, commissioned by his Britannic Majesty to pro-
ceed to the Court of Lahore to make certain presents to
Ranjit Sing, the King of the Sikhs, with a view
to open a communication with the states under the
Maharajah, for the purposes of trade, etc. Lieut.
Burnes arrived at Lahore on the 18th July. Among
the presents were some dray-horses, and Sir John
Malcolm's state carriage, which was purchased for that
purpose shortly after Sir John's departure for Eng-
land. Lieut. Burnes was received by the Ranjiet Sing
with marks of distinction, a grand military spectacle
having been ordered to honour his arrival; he was in-
troduced into a magnificent hall, where he was em-
braced by the Ranjiet. Lieut. Burnes then presented
letters from his Britannic Majesty, with presents of five
dray-horses. The Ranjiet could not believe they
were horses, but something between an elephant and
a horse. It was fully hoped, from the manner in
which Lieut. Burnes was received throughout the
whole of the Maharajah's dominions (at every principal
place a profusion of entertainments was provided),
that the friendly disposition manifested by Ranjiet
Sing would be productive of many commercial advan-
tages to both countries. The Ranjiet had sent a pre-
siding invitation to the Governor-General to meet him on
the banks of the Jumna, with which it was understood
his Lordship would comply.—The following is further
intelligence from the Bombay papers:—Accounts
from Patna state that three suttees had recently taken
place there. A female, aged only 18, had thrown her-
self into the burning pile where her husband's body
was consuming, though her friends endeavoured to pre-
vent her. The chief officer of the district apprehended
the relations of the deceased for having assisted in rais-
ing the pile. The husband died of cholera. Two other
women had thrown themselves into the pile, and were
consumed with the bodies of their husbands. The
authorities were doing all in their power to prevent
suttees. The information obtained respecting the in-
digo crop is unfavourable. In Lower Bengal the pro-
duce was expected to be small. In Benares the new
plant was looking fine. In Tirhoot the plants had
been much cut up, except in the eastward, where a
splendid crop was looked for. In Cuprah, Dinapore,
and other places in that direction, the crops would fall
short of last year's produce. In Purneah good crops

were expected. In Dacca the crops were almost a
total failure. Rungpore and Mymensing will not yield
so well as last year. In Jessore, both eastward and
westward, the prospects were bad. The total pro-
duce of the season was estimated at 10½,000 maunds;
last season the produce was 116,079 maunds. The
cholera morbus had broken out in Káinmandoo, to the
great alarm of the Nypalese. The disorder could not
be traced to any communication with infected dis-
tricts, as the jungle fever which prevailed between
April and the end of October, had put a complete stop
to all intercourse with other towns, more effectually
than could be done by any measures of quarantine.—
The Governor-General and Lady William Bentinck
were in perfect health in the lofty regions of Simla.
The Earl of Dalhousie, the Commander-in-chief, did
not enjoy good health. It was expected his Lordship
would soon be compelled to quit India.—(Herald.)

We have seen accounts of several disturbances which
have lately taken place at Rio Janeiro. The following
private letter, giving a description of one which oc-
curred on the 28th September, explains from what
slight and apparently foreign causes the lovers of tu-
mult and disorder contrive to create a disturbance. It
is dated the 29th September:—"This place has just
been the theatre of an event, of which I hasten to send
you the following details, on which you may rely.
The disorder commenced on the night of the 28th, and
seems, beyond all doubt, to have been preconcerted,
or, rather, it might be said, to have been preconcerted
three days before. A dispute having arisen in the lobby of
the theatre between Lieutenants Antonio Caetano and
Paiva, they retired to decide the matter by a duel at the
Rocio, the usual place of combat. Information having
been conveyed to Dr. Saturnino, a Justice of the Peace
for the district, he instantly left the theatre for the
purpose of preventing mischief; he was, however, op-
posed in this intention by several self-styled patriots,
who vociferated that he had no right to arrest a Bra-
zilian citizen, alluding to Lieut. Caetano, a native of
Rio. The persons most conspicuous in this affair
were those who have rendered themselves notorious
as public disturbers, and the authors of incendiary
publications. The Justice of Peace returned to the
theatre, after enduring the grossest insults from those
who had joined in the disturbance, who also went
back, crying out 'Treason! Treason!' accompanying
those clamours with every species of insult. The
Justice of Peace gave directions for having the Muni-
cipal Guards drawn up at a short distance from the the-
atre. This force was frequently insulted by crowds
of disorderly persons. The Magistrate tried every
means to induce the authors of this riot to desist, but
his mildness only increased the ferment, and drew
down upon him fresh insults. The detachment of
Municipal Guards, exasperated by repeated insults, en-
deavoured to apprehend the ringleaders, but some of
them had previously seized several bayonets and mus-
kets belonging to the soldiers on guard inside the the-
atre, and fired on the Municipal Guard. The latter
were then obliged to act in self-defence; and fired in
their turn, the result of which was that three of the
rioters were killed and one seriously wounded. It
must be recollected that mild measures had been tried
in vain on this occasion, and seemed to have no other
effect than to increase the fury of the rioters, who
acted, no doubt, upon a premeditated plan. Several
of the Municipal Guard were wounded, but not one
killed. As soon as this attack was known throughout
the town, and that the rioters were convinced that
the Municipal Guards would repel force by force,
the ringleaders retired, and with them all those
who seemed anxious to continue the riot. The place
where this disturbance occurred presented a
singular spectacle; there were drawn up in the square
more than 2,000 foot soldiers of the Municipal Guard,
and a strong detachment of cavalry. The whole town
was under arms until four o'clock in the morning.—
The principal establishments, such as the bank, the
treasury, the office of the Sinking Fund, the arsenal,
and the gaol, had their guards doubled. The 1st Re-
giment of the Line resisted, with great honour, to
themselves, the solicitations of certain evil-disposed
persons, who endeavoured to seduce them from their
duty. The Cavalry of Minas, and that of the Militia,
showed the greatest zeal and promptitude in assisting
the Municipal Guards in the preservation of order, and
traversed the streets with the view of preventing a si-
milar alarm to that which took place in the month of
July. The conduct of the Justice of Peace on this oc-
casion is worthy of the highest praise, as he spared no
effort in order to prevent the effusion of blood.—(Pub-
lic Ledger.)

The appearance of London, with the continual roll-
ing of equipages and crowded state of the streets at the
West-end, now resembles what it used to be at the ap-
proach of Christmas in former days, before the great
world resolved to commence the London winter in the
month of May, as they have done of late years. This
is one effect of the Reform Bill, which we hope may
be continued. Several of the principal Nobility have
already issued cards of invitation for dinners, and
balls, routs, and soirées are the "Order of the Nig" in
every direction.—(Public Ledger.)

The French Embassy is removed to a residence in
Hanover-square, formerly occupied by Prince Lieven,
and the mansion in Portland-place, which has been
successively tenanted by the Duke de Gages, Viscount
Chateaubriand, Prince Polignac, the Duke de Laval
Montmorency, and Prince Talleyrand, is at present un-
occupied. The Prince and Princess Lieven have re-
sumed their occupancy of Ashburham-house, Dover-
street.—(Post.)

The Reformers of Dorsetshire have redeemed their
pledge to their brother Reformers throughout the

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Great-Britain.

LONDON, DECEMBER 16, 1831.

The ship-owners are stirring up again the half-cold embers of commercial prohibition and monopoly. These gentry may as well be quiet. The people of England have become too soundly informed to be made again the victims of any single class of merchants or tradesmen who feel a hankering after inordinate profits, to be wrung from the general distress and inconvenience of the nation. When Mr. Huskisson brought in his measures for establishing a reciprocal freedom of navigation between Great Britain and other States, it was made by that able Minister as obvious as any elementary proposition in arithmetic, that if no such compact should be entered into, the shipping of this country would be excluded from so great a number of foreign ports—nay, the exclusion had already begun to take place—as to cause an inevitable deterioration in our mercantile navy. Mr. Huskisson's speech, two or three years afterwards, in proof of the justice of his own anticipations, and in defence of the policy founded on them, will long be remembered and is fortunately recorded, as one of the most triumphant expositions of enlightened principle, and collections of indisputable fact, that ever extorted the faith and applause of an unwilling assembly; for such, even at so late a period, was the Tory House of Commons of England. Mr. Huskisson showed, as clear as light itself, not merely the positive advantage gained by our commercial marine through the working of his measures of reciprocity, but the certain ruin from which those measures had actually redeemed our shipping interest. Yet these unrecusable and greedy traders now talk of the transition from war to peace as glibly as if they were still undergoing the process of 1816. What privileges can they, or any set of Englishmen, pretend to, which encroach upon the equal rights of their fellow-citizens? If they do not know that the profits of all trades whatever, and in all countries, have declined, their ignorance deserves commiseration. If they are not willing to take their share of the general annoyance produced by an abridgment of profits, let them give up shipowning, and live in idleness on no profits at all. Parliament will never cure their complaint by inflicting a monopoly in their favour upon all other ranks and classes of the people. We would lay a wager that these discontented persons are most of them adverse to Reform: Toryism and monopoly are convertible terms. —(TIMES.)

If any one, after reading the Speech of Mr. Stanley, and the appalling facts it discloses, can hesitate to say that something must be done—and speedily and effectually done—to save the church establishment in Ireland from ruin, he must have hopes of safety independently of all human means and human demonstrations. The law which enforces the payment of tithes has become a dead letter in Ireland. The Protestant clergy are in many parts reduced to the greatest want, and every thing looks like a breaking up of the system, if something be not substituted for that obnoxious mode of supporting the clergy, which has always been a source of discontent amongst the Catholic population of that country. It is not by the adoption of new Brunswick or Orange Societies, with which the Irish papers have been ringing for the last few days, nor by strong resolutions against this or the other Government that the Irish Nobility and Gentry can benefit their country at such a crisis. The introduction of political unions was an unfortunate measure, amongst other reasons, for their tendency to promote similar unions. These fears are now verified; two parties are once more arrayed against each other in unions—in hostile bands; and those who give encouragement to such proceedings on either side are leading themselves, we must hope unknowingly, to the destruction of every principle of order. It is easy for Lords and Gentlemen to talk of physical force; but they know not what an engine they are about to lay their hands on when they appeal to it; nor how incapable in general those are to direct who presume to invoke its interference. But to return to the question of Tithes. We hope that Ministers will persevere in the task which they have now undertaken, till they come to a satisfactory arrangement. The interests of Christianity itself require that a better understanding should subsist between the Church and those who support the Church. It must be the wish of every good man that the Ministers who have proposed the inquiry may succeed in bringing it to a successful issue; but we hope that those who have hitherto evinced any thing but a spirit of conciliation, will at last see the evil and the guilt of inflaming the passions of men to the injury, if not the ruin, of their common countrymen. —(HERALD.)

With all our disposition to attribute merit to the Ministers for their labours in the recess (and their enemies admit the readiness with which they have adopted any hint which could have been useful to the principle of the Bill), we must confess there is only the alteration respecting the ten pound franchise which is of any consequence; that the opponents of the Bill did not suggest, and if the Bill had passed without it, it could have been superadded as a matter of detail and regulation. There is one alteration, indeed, which may seem to merit some special notice,—the clause preserving the rights of the existing freemen of corporations in perpetual succession (not allowing, however, any creation of new freemen not entitled by birth or servitude.) This change, so far as it goes, is mischievous, though the conduct of the freemen at the last election merited, no doubt, a grateful acknowledgment. To preserve a caste of electors, who may be

destitute of all requisite qualifications for their trust, impairs the simplicity of the new system, and is only to be defended because it may be expedient to preserve some grotesque relic of the old system from which we are about to be relieved. The freemen will remain, like Gog and Magog at Guildhall, to show what the ancient rulers of the isle were. We hope the Ministers, however, will take care to confine the privilege of voting to the persons who were freemen before the introduction of the Bill, and their descendants, or they may be assured the corporations will set themselves in many places to swamp the ten pound voters, by indiscriminate extensions of the right of which they have heretofore commonly been so frugal. —(GLOBE.)

In looking at the disclosures in Parliament relative to the tithe system, it is impossible to avoid pitying individuals; but what a spectacle it is of the consequence of reformations too long delayed, and of the fate of those who hold desperately by a system when it becomes no longer tenable. The Government has taken up this evil, which has been bequeathed to them by their predecessors, with a view to find some remedy; and the only remedy apparently possible is to commute the tithes for land. We are not quite sure that matters have not gone so far that even this will be impracticable; but if this commutation be not practicable, nothing else is: it is vain now to talk of "corn rents," or any other rents, when it is clear that any payment that may be ordered to be made by the mass of the Catholic coter population of Ireland to the Protestant clergy cannot be enforced, unless, in addition to all the existing remedies of law, equity, courts spiritual, courts temporal, the proctor, the bailiff, the police, and the bayonet, something else be devised more effectual than all together. The extreme necessity of the case seems to be acknowledged by the Tory Opposition. Let them take warning by the lesson which it affords. —(GLOBE.)

A Meeting of the National Political Union Society was held in Dublin on Saturday last, at which Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Lawless, Mr. Staunton, and others addressed the assembly; but the only proceeding of any importance was a string of resolutions moved by the last named gentleman, of which the following are the conclusions:—"That it is indispensable to the relief and prosperity of Ireland, and due to her, that these measures shall be adopted—1. In order to remedy the evil of foreign proprietorship, the imposition of an absentee tax of 25 per cent., with facilities for the transference of absentee property, and a loan fund of adequate magnitude to assist resident purchasers. 2. To remedy the evils of resident proprietors, the enactment of suitable poor laws. And 3. The repeal of four millions and a half of taxes, being the portion of relief Ireland is entitled to under the Act of Union, and less than the amount of new taxes imposed between the years 1804 and 1815."

As the whole of the taxes raised in Ireland amount to somewhat less than four millions and a quarter, the remission of taxes there to the amount of four and a half would seem a work of some difficulty. It is but fair to Mr. Staunton to state that he calculates that the unacknowledged taxes of Ireland—that is the taxes paid in England, and for which the English revenue gets credit, on articles ultimately consumed in Ireland—amount to two millions a-year: so that he would be satisfied with the remission of all the taxes raised in Ireland, and a small drawback on the articles she imports from this country. Mr. Staunton, after having got rid of all Irish taxes, would tax the absentee proprietors, including those who, having property both in England and Ireland, are not able to reside in both places, at 25 per cent.; but after having disposed them to sell their property by a tax of 25 per cent. on their rent, he would lend the amount of the price of the land to enable others to buy it. This plan of a Government Loan Fund "of adequate magnitude" is said to have been loudly cheered by the Union. A Government which should remit more taxes than were raised, and lend money while it received less than nothing, would create an Irish Utopia with which even an O'Connell might be satisfied. Though we think Mr. Staunton's conclusions extravagant, the speech by which he introduced his resolutions evinces the greatest industry; it details the illiberal dealings of former Governments towards Ireland, and leads his hearers to conclude, that the spirit of these dealings animates the present Government. No doubt it is a part of wisdom to look back to the past to know how evils have arisen, in order to ascertain the manner in which remedies may be applied. But the habit of political retrospect in Ireland seems to be resorted to more to influence the passions than to direct the judgment. It is as foreign to any good purpose for Mr. Staunton to talk of the prohibition of the importation of Irish cattle in the reign of Charles II., as it is for the Orangemen to talk of the massacre of the Protestants in the reign of Charles I. There is nothing to guide us to a knowledge of the policy of the present day in the interchange of provocations between selfish and barbarous Governments, and turbulent and treacherous savages. Mr. Staunton's remarks founded on the computations at the time of the Union are scarcely more relevant, though the events are less remote. We assure him no Englishman fancies that there was any obligation created on the part of Ireland by the sweeping away, in 1817, of a fictitious balance which had grown out of an erroneous estimate of the financial abilities of the two islands. We are convinced, and we believe every impartial Irishman who has any opportunity of observing the feeling of England is convinced, that there is not only a desire here to do full justice to Ireland, but to make sacrifices of temporary English interests to

its improvement. The phrase that the measures which Mr. S. proposes are "due to Ireland," though a common phrase enough, involves a most unjustifiable assumption. It is taken for granted, in this style of talking, that every measure which Jack or Tom thinks fit to propose is part of the balance of a debtor and creditor account between two islands, instead of being a subject for discussion as to its general expediency. The only debt due to the Irishmen of the present day in respect of evils inflicted on past generations is, that the Government should labour sedulously for their welfare; but the legislature is surely not to sanction any cradit that is proposed to it, because some gentleman proposes to take it in payment of his national obligation. We think with Mr. Staunton that mischief has been done by applying to Ireland in too many instances the same rate of duties which prevails in England. But even allowing all Mr. Staunton's estimate of the unacknowledged taxes, it is difficult to conceive that too heavy taxation is one of the chief evils of a country where there are no direct taxes, and where all the taxes on domestic manufactures or excise duties are confined to six articles, of which there are only four worth enumerating, viz. glass, malt, paper, and spirits. Still it would be useful and proper for Mr. Staunton, who has much appropriate information, to point out the particular taxes which press on the Irish consumers, and the practicable mode of mitigating the burden. We are quite sure that he would find willing attention on the part of the Government and the people. —(GLOBE.)

The Princess Victoria has become the patroness of the several charities in the neighbourhood of Claremont, which were protected by the Princess Charlotte, and takes so much interest in the schools, that she lately received a party at Claremont to distribute prizes, though she was obliged to appear in a Merlino chair, her feet and ankles being so small and weak, as to be often unable to support her even when in good health. The Duchess of Kent's munificence in charities is such, that, since the increase of her income, it is computed that one fifth of it is spent for charitable purposes, and the Princess takes great interest in its distribution. —(Sun.)

The Lords of the Privy Council held a meeting yesterday, to consider the appeal of Sir Thomas Claridge against his removal, by the East India Company, from the office of Recorder of Prince of Wales's Island, which had been argued before their Lordships at former meetings. They were occupied in deliberation for some time, when the Lord President intimated to the parties concerned that the decision, could not be communicated till after it had received his Majesty's approbation. —(Courier.)

The Gazette offers a glorious specimen of "precedent." Every body knows what the Judges are to do at Bristol. But what does the Gazette say on the business? They are to inquire into "all treasons, misprisions of treason, insurrections, rebellions, counterfeits, clippings, washings, false coinings, and other felonies of the money of Great Britain and other our Kingdoms or dominions whatsoever, and of all murders, felonies, manslaughter, killings, burglaries, rapes of women, unlawful meetings and conventicles, unlawful uttering of words, assemblies, misprisions, conspiracies, false allegations, trespasses, riots, routs, retentions, escapes, contempts, falsities, negligencies, concealments, maintenances, oppressions, champarties, deceipts." How the spirit of Sir R. Peel must have rejoiced in perusing this black letter document, in which the exemplars of all former Commissions are so carefully adhered to! Why is not Reform extended to the abolition of this and similar trash? —(Public Ledger.)

It is said that when the Farnham party arrived in town for the purpose of deliberating on the best means of re-establishing Orange Ascendancy in Ireland, there was sad confusion in the camp, and it was deliberately proposed, and by high men too, to seek the co-operation of Mr. O'Connell to pull down Lord Grey's Government; but the thought was abandoned, on the ground that Mr. O'Connell could not be trusted by any party! —(Dublin Times.)

The Irish Law Society have made a respectful representation, as previously agreed on, to the Lord Chancellor, on the subject of the bill introduced by him into the House of Lords, to which they have received a prompt and satisfactory answer. —(Dublin F. Journal.)

Extract of a letter from Dover, Dec. 14:—"In consequence of the boisterous state of the weather, and the heavy bar occasioned thereby at the mouth of the harbour, this port has been as though blockaded, or an embargo laid on it, from Sunday until to-day, when with the assistance of the plough, and the sluices, many thousands of tons of shingle were removed, and the entrance is now very good. This morning the packets Crusader and Spitfire came round from the Downs, and received the respective mails for Calais and Ostend, with which they sailed; the former also took the following passengers:—Hon. Mr. Granville, Hon. Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. Burton, Captain Ellis, Mr. Bishop, Mr. Clay, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Sayers, Mr. Pigott, etc. etc. The Royal George, steam-vessel, also sailed, with three carriages, and the family of Brook, Esq., for Calais. There not being a packet on the other side of the water, General Dufoy, and a few other passengers, have landed from the Providence boat, and the estate." —(Courier.)

Letters from Malta mention the safe arrival there of Sir Walter Scott, who had suffered little inconvenience from the voyage, and was altogether in an improved state of health. —(Post.)

According to the last New Orleans papers, there was imported into that State, during the week commencing

Oct. 16th, from various parts of the United States, 371 slaves, principally from Virginia, as follows:—from Alexandria, 141; Baltimore, 6; Norfolk, 150; Charleston, 74. —(Sun.)

Yesterday a numerous Preliminary Meeting of the Working Classes took place at the Royal Bazaar, Gray's-inn-road, for the purpose of forming an Association, to be placed under the superintendence of Mr. R. Owen, and having for its objects to carry into immediate execution measures to employ beneficially and educate usefully all who are unemployed and uneducated in the British empire. The room was crowded to excess; we observed Sir John M. Doyle, Bart. M.P., and several other gentlemen of respectability, as well as many elegantly-attired females. Mr. Bruce was called to the Chair.—Mr. Owen entered into a lengthened detail of his plan; and a letter from Mr. Bromley was read, offering the use of the Bazaar to Mr. Owen, at any rent he might think proper. Mr. Owen's plan, which is too long to insert, is intended to make this Bazaar subservient to the manufacture and sale of goods, and the education of children, which will all be conducted in a systematic manner.—Mr. Lister contended the Meeting to petition the Legislature for the waste lands.—Mr. Smith wished to know how far the new education of Mr. Owen for children could take away their disposition for reading the cheap trash that was every day laid before them? He thought the present distresses of the country did not so much arise from ignorance as from the perversion of education.—Mr. Gude, from Northampton, said he had followed the tail of the plough all his life. His father was a labourer at 7s. a week, and after rearing seven children, it was not to be expected that he could give them an education. It fell to his lot to be just able to read, and one day, at Leadenhall-market, he saw placarded on a wall, "One Bishop with 125 benefices;" and in a window he saw the picture of "the Duke of Wellington and the real cause." He bought one of those cheap publications so much complained of. He was soon able to satisfy his fellow-labourers that when the flour rose it was not the miller's fault. The conflagrations in the country arose from ignorance. He then took a view of the landlords and parsons, and said, that having a Reforming King, a Reforming Ministry, and an industrious people, they would not be easily broken. —(Cheers.) A series of Resolutions were unanimously voted, approving of the plan laid down for the formation of the Association. —(Globe.)

We have been furnished with some of the leading facts connected with the late extensive seizure of smuggled silk and other French goods, which, till the official documents moved for in the House of Commons are produced, may serve to allay the public curiosity on that subject. It appears that the attention of the Government was drawn, in the first instance, to the alleged large business carried on in that way, by the tradesmen who lived in the neighbourhood where the goods were disposed of, and who found themselves undersold to such an extent that they were wholly deserted by their customers. This led to a strict watch on the movements of the parties accused (the house of Leaf, Cole, and Co.), in Old Change, and it was not long before evidence was procured tending to fix on them very strongly the suspicion of contraband dealings on a very large scale. According to the information laid before the Customs, the mode of proceeding seems to have been this:—The steam-vessel from Calais which brought the goods, arriving generally after night had set in, and the navigation of the pool being hazardous, was moored at some spot lower down than its place of destination, thus deferring the making the entries at the Custom-house until the following morning. A waterman who was regularly employed with a barge on the river, was engaged by the parties to lie off the steam-vessel, which he was only to approach on a signal previously concerted. He then received on board his barge various packages, which he secured by locking up in the cabin. Consultations were held at the time when the first of these transactions took place, about the mode of taking these packages on shore least likely to excite suspicion. After various plans were proposed, the expedient was resorted to, of using wine hampers, which were landed at one of the stars in Thames-street, and carried by porters to the warehouse for which they were intended. Another waterman, in addition to the first, was associated in these transactions, and both of them, if the case had proceeded, were to have been witnesses on the part of the Crown. It is not a little remarkable that these men were led to tell all they knew in the business, through some advantage taken of them, as they conceived, in paying them for a smaller number of parcels than they had delivered. After two or three of these transactions had been completed, it began to be considered no longer safe to land the parcels within the precincts of the city, but a place higher up the river, near Battersea, was resorted to, and as the distance in this case was much more considerable, the goods were carried home in carts. At length, when the number of the transactions had amounted to 10 or 12, the bargemen seem to have thought the affair ripe for exposure, and determined on making it. They gave information respecting a landing intended to take place in August last at the Battersea station. Persons were employed for the purpose, and a cart was watched from and to a warehouse in the City, belonging to Leaf and Co., at the door of which the goods were seized by a proper officer. The valuation of the goods taken on this occasion was something under £700. A few days after, information was given that great bustle existed in the warehouse, and that persons were engaged there in packing up and removing a quantity of goods in a great hurry. These goods were traced to three different places, and seized as foreign, and not

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PARIS, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1831.

PRICE 40 SOUS

Great-Britain.

LONDON, DECEMBER 17, 1831.

(Received by Express.)

The House of Lords was adjourned last night to the 17th of January, and a similar adjournment will be moved in the House of Commons. This is a longer holiday than was expected; but it will afford an opportunity of ascertaining the degree of opposition which the Reformers are to expect in the House of Lords, and what number of Peers, if any, it may be necessary to create in order to secure the success of the Bill in that branch of the Legislature. Now that the anti-Reformers know that the hopes of the country will not be disappointed by any indisposition to exercise the Royal prerogative, we may reasonably calculate on a vast accession of strength to Ministers; for although we do not believe that many Peers would abandon the opposition which they have hitherto shown to reform, merely because they would not like to be in a disreputable minority, we are quite sure that there are many of what are called anti-Reform Peers, who would rather yield to expediency than hazard the tranquillity of the country.—(COURIER.)

The Dutch Papers leave little doubt that the King of Holland has resolved to refuse his adhesion to the proposed treaty of peace with Belgium. The grounds of refusal now stated are those which have been repeatedly urged in the Dutch official papers, and they are not such as to render an accommodation probable; although, either in the vain hope of some new arrangement, or for the purpose of delay, the Dutch Government intends, as it is said, to authorize its Ambassador to propose a new treaty.—(COURIER.)

STOCK EXCHANGE, DECEMBER 17, Twelve o'clock.—This is a perfectly blank day, no rumours are afloat and no fluctuations have taken place in Consols which opened and remain at 83 3/4.

Two o'clock.—Consols are 83 3/4. The Foreign Market is also very dull. The New Regency Loan is at 3/4 premium; there is, however, not much doing in it: it came out at 48, it is a 5 per Cent. loan; Russian is 99 1/2 100 1/2; do. New, 93; Danish, 66 1/2; Spanish, 14 1/2 15; Greek, 23 25; Portuguese, 50 51; Brazil, 44 1/2 45; Mexican, 36 1/2; Chilean, 18 19; Columbian, 12 13; Peruvian, 11 12. Nothing done in French or Dutch Stock. Prices of Shares are—Anglo-Mexican, 14 1/2; United Mexican, 5 5/8; Real del Monte, 13 15; Bolanos, 140 150; Brazilian Cocas, 2 3/4; Brazilian Company, 1 1/2 2 1/2; Brazilian Imperial, 1 1/2 1 5/8; Brazilian del Reys, 7 8; Canada, 26; Provincial Bank of Ireland, 26; Protector Fire, 1 1/2; London Dock, 6 1/2; Guardian Assurance, 21 1/2; West India Docks, 101 1/2.

Three o'clock.—Consols are 83 3/4.

The private letters from Amsterdam this morning state, that the Dutch Government are going to fortify their capital.—(GLOBE.)

Boston papers, of the 16th ult., mention that the revenue of that port, during October last, was 53,520 dollars, an increase over the same month last year of 292,498 dollars.—(Standard.)

It may be recollected that attention was drawn by some of the merchants, several months ago, to the very heavy fees charged at the Brazilian Consulate, and it was pointed out how oppressive a tax they formed on our commerce with that country. Since then, the subject has been taken up in a very energetic manner, at the Foreign Office, and through the interference of Lord Palmerston, a very material reduction on those fees is now to take place. It amounts, in fact, to more than 50 per cent. on the original charges, as a vessel on which £8 was charged, will pay in future only £3. 12s., and other freights in the same proportion. A new table of fees has been prepared at the Brazilian Consulate, suited to this reduction of charge. The saving to the merchants from this source is estimated, taking all the ports at which such a Consulate exists, at about £12,000 per annum. A letter from the Foreign Office to a mercantile house has just officially announced this desirable reduction.—(COURIER.)

The Ambassadors and Ministers of Russia, Austria, France, and Prussia, assembled yesterday at the Foreign Office, and held a conference with Viscount Palmerston. M. Van de Weyer, the Belgian Minister had, before the conference, an interview with Lord Palmerston. Earl Grey visited the Noble Viscount during the time the Foreign Ministers were assembled.—(COURIER.)

A deputation of glove manufacturers had an interview yesterday with Lord Auckland and Mr. P. Thompson, at the Board of Trade.—(GLOBE.)

Mr. Protheroe intends to move for leave to bring in a Bill to alter and amend the Charter, Municipal Government, and regulations of the City of Bristol.—(GLOBE.)

The Duke of Wellington, we are happy to hear, was pronounced to be in an improved state yesterday.—(Standard.)

Alderman Sir C. Flower expired on Thursday morning after an illness of about ten days. Sir Charles was supposed to be the wealthiest man in the Corporation, and, it is said, died worth upwards of half a million. His death leaves a vacancy in the Aldermanic Court for Cornhill Ward.—(COURIER.)

We are informed that Dr. Daum, so far from having been attacked by the cholera, as was yesterday reported, has arrived in town from Sunderland, in perfect health.—(Standard.)

We regret to observe that the following report, dated the 15th inst., received from the North this day, especially as relates to Newcastle, is very discouraging:—"SUNDERLAND. Remaining at last report, 18;

new cases, 8; total, 26. Died, 2; recovered, 5; remaining, 19. Total cases from commencement of disease, 404; deaths, 159.—NEWCASTLE. Remaining at last report, 31; new cases, 15; total, 46. Died, 10; recovered, 2; remaining, 34. Total cases from commencement, 61; deaths, 23.—NORTH SHIELDS. Remaining at last report, 1; no new cases. Total cases from commencement, 3; deaths, 2.—SEGRILL COLLIERY. Remaining at last report, 2; no new cases. Total cases from commencement, 4; deaths, 2.—WALKER. Remaining at last report, 2; no new cases. Died, 1; recovered, 1. Total cases from commencement, 2; died, 1.—SEAHAM. New cases, 3; died, 1.—(GLOBE.)

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS, Dec. 16.

The Marquis of LANSDOWN moved for copies of all correspondence on the subject of the recent resistance to the payment of tithes received by Government.

PORTUGAL.—DON PEDRO.

The Earl of ABERDEEN wished, before the adjournment, to call attention to a marked violation which had recently taken place of the Foreign Enlistment Act. Among the various statements which he had seen upon the subject, there was one in the *Liverpool Journal*, from which it appeared that a considerable body of men had embarked on board a War-office steam-packet, called the Lord Blaney, for the purpose of proceeding to Bellisle, in order to assist the expedition of Don Pedro. An application had also been made to Mr. Broderip, the Magistrate, on the part of forty sailors who had been disappointed in their expectation of being sent out in the service of Don Pedro. Now he would ask, was the Foreign Enlistment Act in force, or was it not? Could it be in force when proceedings such as that were going forward in the country? The Magistrate lamented that he could afford those poor men no relief, but he seemed never for a moment to have remembered that they were acting in direct violation of the law—it never seemed to have suggested itself to his mind that they were engaging in an unlawful transaction. Seeing what that Magistrate said, and knowing what it was to be presumed he must know, it did, he confessed, appear strange that he never asked himself whether or not he possessed authority to stay the execution of the laws. When the Foreign Enlistment Act was under consideration in that House, there were some Noble Lords, now in the Councils of the Crown, who opposed, and others who supported, that measure; but he was sure, that whatever might be their opinions respecting the justice and expediency of such an Act, they could not imagine that, so long as it was law, its operation ought to be suspended. If the Act were objectionable, it ought to be repealed.—(Hear.) but so long as it remained the law of the land, the Ministers of the Crown should not assume to themselves a dispensing power.—(Hear, hear.) Whatever might be the character of Don Pedro's proceedings, there was nothing that could justify a violation of the laws in that open manner. Don Pedro was but a private individual, and as such was bound to respect the laws of this country. He was not, however, much surprised at these proceedings, for it was but too evident that there was something extremely mysterious and oracular in the speech from the Throne, when touching upon this subject; and, therefore, he felt but little surprise that persons disposed to favour the views of Don Pedro should find therein some encouragement for the steps they had taken. When their Lordships looked at the speech, they would see that this remark was not altogether without foundation. What could be the reason for thus mentioning the return of Don Pedro? The arrival of the elder branch of the illustrious House of Braganza was nothing more than the arrival of the elder branch of the illustrious House of Bourbon. Don Pedro was de-throned, or had abdicated; he came to this country a fugitive—he could not be considered any thing more than a private individual; and really there was no reason for supposing that he originally came to this country with any view of making war upon his brother; but adventurers and speculators in revolutions—in these there were adventurers and speculators, as in every thing else—got round him, and offered him the means of carrying on the war. Without such suggestions he would probably not have thought of engaging in hostilities; for the last act of Don Pedro's Government was of a conciliatory character, being nothing less than a treaty of marriage between his daughter and Don Miguel. It did appear to his mind extremely difficult to comprehend upon what principle Government could justify the conduct which it pursued in this matter; they surely would not maintain that their not having acknowledged the legitimacy of the origin of the Government of Don Miguel entitled them to put him out of the pale of those rights recognised amongst independent nations. He was, he must say, altogether at a loss to understand upon what principle it would be said that we were to exact from Portugal the utmost rigour of our treaties, but at the same time to deny to that country the measure of justice and fair dealing which we compelled her to pay to us. There was nothing which could release this country from an observance of its own laws—from the impartial administration of its own legislative enactments. The House would observe, that he had purposely abstained from the question of the expediency or the inexpediency of our recognising the Government of Don Miguel, or any remark upon the general course of the foreign policy of the Noble Earl. All he meant to insist on was, that the Government ought to do its duty impartially, and therefore he called upon the Noble Earl to state where the distinction was to be found between the case of Don Pedro's expedition and the others to which the Foreign Enlistment Act might be supposed to apply.

Earl GREY said that the tendency of those remarks was to lead their Lordships into a discussion of the general question on Portugal—a discussion to which he (Earl Grey) would not be a party; but as to the particular matter which had been adverted to, he should, with perfect readiness, give a short explanation. He should in the first place beg to observe, that whether he approved of the Act in question or not, he should, so long as it was the law of the land, feel that the duty of his Majesty's Government was to see that it was fairly and impartially observed; but he could by no means admit the assumption of the Noble Earl, that that law had been violated. Whether that which had been stated as having taken place before Mr. Broderip was true or not, he was without the means of determining; but as to a War-office steam-packet, called the Lord Blaney, engaged in the service of Don Pedro, he could assure the Noble Earl that there was no such thing as a War-office steam-packet—there was no such vessel existing. As a proof that there existed no indisposition on the part of his Majesty's Government to enforce the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, he would state, that some vessels which had been engaged in the river for the service of Don Pedro were detained by the Custom-house, on some representations having been made on the subject, and they entertained some doubts, referred the matter to the Treasury, and they again to the Law Officers of the Crown, who reported that there existed no right or authority to detain those vessels. On the subject of persons enlisting on foreign service, a reference had also been made to the King's Advocate, and, under the circumstances, it was considered that there existed no ground for the interference of Government, at the same time that nothing could be further from the minds of the responsible advisers of the Crown than any attempt to suspend the operation of the law in question, and their determination was to take no part in the dispute one way or the other. That was all with which he thought it then necessary to trouble their Lordships; if a motion were regularly made, he should come prepared with the necessary information. On sufficient notice, he should be perfectly

prepared to discuss the matter in any form in which it might be brought forward.

The Earl of ABERDEEN expressed himself satisfied with the assurance given from the other side, that the law would be strictly and impartially administered.

Earl GREY then moved that the House do adjourn to Tuesday, the 17th January next. Agreed to.—Adjourned accordingly.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

There were several notices and petitions on the subject of Reform. Mr. Browne intimated that he should move that the number of Members for Ireland be increased. Mr. G. Langton stated that he should oppose the division of counties.

Mr. WARBURTON presented a petition against a clause in the Reform Bill from the National Political Union.

Sir R. PEEL objected to the reception of this petition from a body which it was impossible for them to recognise, especially after the late proclamation.—After some conversation, it was withdrawn.

Lord ALTHORP, when the Order of the Day was about to be put for the second reading of the Reform Bill, announced that he intended to propose that the adjournment should be till Jan. 47.

Sir R. PEEL inquired whether Ministers intended to continue to pay the interest on a third portion of a Russian Loan of £6,000,000, namely, of £2,000,000, without authority from Parliament? He said, there was an express condition in the Treaty that the payment should not continue, if the Belgian Provinces were separated from the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Lord ALTHORP replied, that the letter of the Treaty had been correctly stated—the Treaty was intended to interest Russia in the union of Belgium with Holland, but a separation having taken place, it was not thought right to do any thing that should disturb that separation; and it was deemed inconsistent with the honour and faith of this country to withhold the payment of the interest.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL thought they were bound in honour and law to continue the payment.

Sir C. Wetherell and Sir E. B. Sugden maintained, without disputing that honour bound this country, that the payment was illegal, and that it ought not to be continued without the sanction of Parliament.

REFORM BILL.

On Lord J. RUSSELL's moving the second reading of this Bill—

Lord PORCHESTER rose to oppose it. Ministers had done nothing to conciliate those who conscientiously objected to the Democratic tendency of the Bill, on the contrary, the present was even more objectionable in this respect than the last.—(Hear.)—He contended that the landed interest was sacrificed by the measure, and that its effect would be to disorganise the institutions which now acted so harmoniously in union. He believed, that if we followed the example of the Americans in making any one part of our Constitution exclusively and powerfully Democratic, we should, in the end, find every part of it become an unmixt Democracy. The Americans had done what they could to retain the weight and influence of property in their institutions. But we were going to change ours with an opposite purpose, for we were about to destroy the law that gave influence to property by destroying the law that regulated the succession to it. If any one asked a Frenchman of the present day what was the most objectionable thing in the state of ancient France, he would answer, that it was the law of property—in other words, the law that regulated the succession to property; yet that law had been the same in ancient France as it was now in England, and the reason of the objection must be obvious to every one. If they repealed the law of primogeniture here, they would have the same consequences follow that had happened in France. Yet this was the evident tendency of the changes now desired to be introduced. Mr. Pitt's plan of Reform had been referred to, but this did not at all resemble it. It was said that the property of the country was on the side of Ministers, he denied the fact. Why, he asked, had Ministers carried the Bill to such an extent, what reason had they to suppose the people would not be content with a moderate reform? As it was, Parliament were called on to make sacrifices, not to the people, but to a party, and on to make sacrifices, not to those who pretty plainly showed how they meant to employ them. The names of Wentworth, Russell, and Cavendish, all favourable to Reform, were proud names—they were associated with proud historical recollections—they were distinguished in the national annals. He knew, too, that the Premier Duke of England, the first in rank, and not the second in honour, had from what he conceived to be his duty, espoused the cause of Reform; but as high as these names were, they were not all. Were the Percys, the Warwicks, and the Rutlands unknown in British history?—(Hear, hear.)—Was the name of Montrose unheard of in ancient times?—(Hear, hear.)—Had Burleigh not been known in the period of the border wars?—(Hear, hear.)—Was there a stranger at Court, and had Cecil no voice in the country in the times of her glory? He himself had always been friendly to a measure of practical Reform founded on the basis of mutual concession; but the present was not a measure of that sort. He was thoroughly convinced of this; and could not, therefore, consent to the adoption of the measure. He moved that it be read a second time this day six months.—(Cheers.)

Sir E. SUGDEN seconded the amendment at some length, and criticised several of the details of the Bill, the only motive of his opposition, he declared to be, the welfare of the country, and that he was the friend of moderate rational Reform.

Mr. E. L. BULWER supported the Bill. It had been said that Reform would operate against the three aristocracies of all civilised countries—the aristocracy of talent, of the Church, and of rank and wealth. Now, with regard to the first, it was said that men of retired and cultivated habits of mind, not being able, either from peculiarities of disposition or circumstances, to brave the chances of a popular election, were returned to this House by means of a closeborough; and it was argued from that that close boroughs were necessary for their return. He waived altogether those long theoretical disquisitions which had been so copiously indulged on this point; yet what, he asked, was the practical result of free elections abroad? Look to America, there elections are, of all countries, the most popular; and there, of all countries, that class of men he alluded to found the readiest access to political honours. Look even to their President; for in one memorable instance, he would absolutely find the man who had attained the Chief Magistracy, the highest honour the Republic can bestow, an Academician, and a Professor of Letters. In France, he allowed, elections were not popular, but there, at least, they had no close boroughs; yet most of those who had distinguished themselves in politics: M. Thiers, M. Guizot, M. Bignon—belonged exactly to those classes whom it was declared close boroughs could alone return to the national Councils. Were they then to believe that France and America were more alive than England to ability and merit?—If so, we have the remedy—a high and noble remedy, in our own hands—that remedy lies in no system of corruption and perjury; it has no charm that clings to the walls of Old Surin, that remedy lies in a general education of the people. If the people cannot appreciate knowledge—diffuse knowledge and they will.—(Cheers.) The Hon. Member proceeded to contend that the aristocracies of the church and of rank and wealth had not more cause of alarm than that of talent; and concluded by expressing a hope that the Peers would no longer continue to divide themselves from the people.

Lord MAHON opposed the measure, and quoted the former French Revolution as an instance of the danger of a democratic Constitution. He said that another example of such a Constitution was to be found in a country, the history of which was not so much studied as it deserved; he alluded to the Constitution of Poland.—(A laugh.) The old political Constitution of that country was founded on an unmixt aristocracy of a middle class. Gentlemen might laugh; but it was so close a resemblance, that precisely the same proportion of voters were to be

found in Poland, in proportion to the people, as the £10 voters bore to the people of this country.—(Hear, and a laugh.) That was a matter of arithmetic. In 1675, the population of Poland was 5,000,000, and the number of voters was 120,000, which bore the same proportion to 5,000,000 as 500,000 voters, under the new Constitution, bore to our 20,000,000 of people. The Monarchy of Poland was elective, and if many of their nobles had not great wealth, they had great power; they had all the privileges of a feudal aristocracy, and possessed great power. The case was the same in Poland as in England. The Noble Lord then alluded to the Constitution of Spain under the Cortes, which, he argued, was liable to the same objections. The last Reform Bill they had been assured was a final measure, yet Ministers had since made several changes in it. An Hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Macaulay) had also defended it, on the ground that it would satisfy all parties, but w! at was his surprise afterwards to see an Address to the people of Leeds, stating that the question of election by ballot had been postponed for future consideration, and this address was signed T. M. Macaulay.—(Cheers.) Such was what had been called a Bill for the final settlement of Reform.—(Hear.)

Mr. T. B. MACAULEY said his Noble Friend had alluded to his opinion about the Ballot. Now he positively denied having said a word in that House about the Ballot. He had never, indeed, considered that question as one of paramount importance, and he would have abstained from bringing it under consideration until those circumstances arose which were beyond his control, and which would not permit it to be delayed. Applying himself now to the Bill, he would say, that it was founded, in his opinion, on precisely the same principles as those of the last; and even if there were some alterations of which he could not entirely approve, he would say that, if giving consent to them had the effect of promoting conciliation, and securing the end they had in view, he for one, was anxious that they should abandon all minor differences, so that the Bill might as speedily as possible pass into a law.—(Hear, hear.)—In justice, however, to that House, and to all who supported the Bill of last Session, he must add, that he found no cause for that exultation respecting the terms of the present Bill, in which some Members opposite had indulged; but in which his Noble Friend (Mahon) possessed too much taste and discretion to join.—(Hear, hear.)—They were taunted with having abandoned their opinions and changed their principles, by those whose magnanimity, or at least their discretion, should have deterred from such a proceeding.—(Hear, hear.)—He (Mr. Macaulay) remembered an Opposition which had taken a far different tone. He remembered an Opposition, which, after labouring on for years—after seeing every plan and every suggestion outwitted by the Government, raised no shout of triumph.—(Hear, hear.)—rejoiced with no ungenerous shout of exultation, when they saw all their recommendations, justified by the adoption of the Government.—(Hear, hear.)—That opposition was content to see those who came in at the eleventh hour receive the reward due to those who had toiled in the heat of the day.—(Hear, hear.)—There was a time when the Noble Lord (Russell), and the Right Hon. Baronet (Peel), occupied very different positions; that in the course of a single day the whole of the views of the Government were changed with respect to the Test and Corporation Acts. Did the Noble Lord, or any who sat on his side of the House, utter one word about palinodes.—(Hear, hear.)—or praise his own wisdom by sneering at the course adopted by his opponent?—(Hear, hear.)—He felt no sorrow, nor expressed no regret, when he saw the glory due to Romilly and to Gifford transferred to less glorious champions.—(Hear, hear.)—That Noble Lord had made it no matter of taunt that Government had adopted the plans of the Opposition. He did not blame those for not reading their recantation, whose names would go down to posterity remembered for nothing, save a whole life of recantation.—(Hear, hear.)—But he (Mr. Macaulay) would say there was no cause for triumph. The former Bill, it was true, was a better Bill.—(A laugh from the Opposition.)—His own opinion, undoubtedly, was that the Bill had been improved; but the other Bill would have been the better Bill had it passed.—(A laugh.)—The second Bill was an amendment of the first; the first, and because the superior had it passed, because it was the first, and because they might then have had some prospect of securing a reconciliation between the supporters of the Bill and their opponents. From the second Bill, he confessed plainly, he did not venture to hope so much, for he feared that the remembrance of the late unhappy division would long continue to rankle in the hearts of the people.—(Hear, hear.)—It was said, however, that they should not let late times of excitement. Let those be answerable for the consequences of that, who, when the people were not excited, refused even to entertain the question of Reform.—(Hear.)—They would proclaim, that when the people were noisy it was unsafe to reform; and when the people were quiet they would consider it unnecessary. He knew the evils of legislating in times of excitement, but prudent men were compelled to reform fast, because bigots would not Reform early.—(Hear, hear.)—to Reform boldly, because bigots would not Reform temperately.—(Hear, hear.)—The former Government would not walk, the present Government must, therefore, run.—(Cheers and laughter from the Opposition.)—If they had Reformed gradually, their successors might have been now Reforming gradually; but they were compelled to run, because their predecessors would not move at all.—(Cheers and laughter.)—He approved, he had said before, of the greater part of the Bill.—He was sure it would diminish much the expense of elections and give a sounder and better constituency. It had been contended, however, that there would be no opening left for the admission of men of talent into the House through the means of the great towns. Now he believed that the great towns had never shown any indifference to the claims of men of talent. He would not (although he might do so with safety) refer to the living examples of the fact. He would speak solely of the dead; and he found that the five largest towns in the empire—that is, the towns which returned two members, and had a population above 50,000 by the census of 1821—he found that these towns, which were Westminster, Southwark, Liverpool, Bristol, and Norwich, had, at various times, returned the following persons as their representatives:—Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Windham, Thorneycroft, Ganning, and Huskisson.—(Hear, hear.)—He would take the first five of the boroughs in schedule A, or last five, or any five of them, and he doubted much whether it would be found that they could produce such a list of great names as these five towns had selected for their representatives. Gentlemen sitting for nomination boroughs might say they came into that House unshackled and free to exercise their discretion on every subject which came before them. But was it nothing that they came with the badge of servitude, which rendered all their actions suspicious, and made their abilities almost useless, and often presented the spectacle of an Arist doing the drudgery of a Scurvy.—(Hear, hear.)—He believed, from all the inquiries he had made, that the places which, under the old system, must be contested at an expense of £18,000, would, under the new, be carried for £1,500, and that Manchester could be contested for the market price of Old Surin.—(Hear, hear.)—He was not insensible to the excitement which prevailed, not to the danger which the rejection of the last Bill had so much increased. Whenever there was great excitement there would be some extravagance. The contests of the Reformation had given birth to the Anabaptists. The opponents of Star Chamber prosecutions, and the levying of ship-money, had raised up those who overthrew the monarchy; and no one could deny, that, at the present hour, the agitation of the Reformation had brought into action a set of men, whose opinions were at variance with all government, all law, and all order—whose doctrines, if carried into effect, would be a greater curse to the country than a foreign conquest, and which must, in their working, sweep away arts, commerce, manufactures, and science, in one common ruin.—(Hear, hear.)—Much had been said of the extravagance of the expectations of the people,

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Great-Britain.

LONDON, DECEMBER 20, 1831.

(Received by Estafette.)

The late fall in the French Funds is still attributed in Paris to the article which appeared in the *Courier* of the 14th, relative to Russia. It may, or may not, be complimentary to attribute such an effect to us; but we think it right to declare, that, as we are not directly or indirectly concerned with any person who jobs in the Funds, we are never deterred from stating what we have heard by any consideration as to whether it may please the Bulls or the Bears of the Stock Exchange. It is our object to give early information of what is passing in the world, let its probable effect be what it may. We should attribute the fall in the French Funds rather to the absence of the great capitalists from Paris, for the purpose of meeting the great jobbers of our own Exchange, than to the article of the *Courier*; but, however the trifling fall may have been caused, we must protest against the system of contradiction which the semi-official prints in Paris have set up. The *Courier* stated that it was not true that any formal proposal had been made to the French Government for a general disarming—that Austria and Prussia had hinted their willingness to discuss the point, but that Russia had made no communication at all on the subject. This statement was perfectly true, and we defy any man breathing, Minister or not Minister, to prove that at the time when we published the statement which, contrary to our expectation, has excited so much sensation in Paris, any formal proposal had been made to the French Government for a general disarming, either by Austria or Prussia; or that any hint or intimation of any kind had been given by Russia on the subject. It may be very convenient just now for some persons to contradict us, but the contradiction is and must be unaccompanied by proof. Of the readiness of Austria and Prussia to secure the peace of Europe by a general disarming, we never had any doubt; and it is not impossible Russia, having gained all she wanted in Persia, in Turkey, and in Poland, may find it convenient to adopt the peace policy until prepared for new wars. We deal in facts, however, and state what is and has been, without troubling our readers with conjectures of what may hereafter take place. It seems, that in addition to the paragraph about disarmament, another statement, which follows it in the *Courier*, about the delay in the Russian Cabinet in replying to the last communication of the Conference, has offended the operators for a rise in the Funds, and roused the jealous ire of a Contemporary, who has attempted to be witty at our expense, and to prove that the article in question was not semi-official. Who in the world ever said it was? In giving the information which we had received, we distinctly stated that we had it from the City, and yet our witty contemporary would insinuate that we have encouraged a belief that it came from an official source. What a fuss is made about the nonsense of semi-officiality! Can no information be worth having which does not come from Downing-street, and need we be under the necessity of hoisting false colours to inspire belief? What matters it whether a piece of news be brought in a commercial letter or in a Government dispatch, so that it be true? We stated that the Russian Government had not come forward so warmly as it ought to have done with respect to the dispute between Belgium and Holland, and if it were a matter of importance to prove that what we said was true, there would be little difficulty in establishing the fact. But Russia may ratify the treaty—Russia may disband all her troops—Russia may put an end to the present system of delay, and Russia may, for a time, be very pacific and very tame, for Russia has succeeded in everything she undertook, and wants to recover breath to pursue new game. Let us not be taunted with want of charitableness in attributing to Russia views of increasing dominion incompatible with the interests of other States. What was her attack upon Persia—what the invasion of Turkey—but an attempt to increase her power and extend her possessions?—For what was the cruel destruction of Polish liberty, but to remove the barrier against the power of Russia which the Congress of Vienna had set up? Diplomats and Statesmen may find it convenient to talk of the pacific views of Russia, but we, who have none of the motives for courtesy and deceit which actuate greater men, must still call plain things by plain names.—(COURIER.)

What will our Tory friends say now to re-action within doors. Out of doors it has long since been given up. But how has the House of Commons delivered itself? It has read the Reform Bill a second time by a majority of exactly two to one, and in a House of 542 Members. This majority is greater by above 50 votes than that which passed the Bill and sent it to the House of Lords last Session. It exceeds by 26 votes the majority last Session for the second reading. It equals the whole amount of the minority. The numbers being as follows:—For 394—Against 162—Majority 162.—Adding the four tellers, the total number of members present was 490; which, with 52 who paired off on both sides, will give us the sentiments of 542 Members of the House of Commons—not quite, though not far below, the highest number of the last Session. This is a great service rendered to the country—an inestimable source of encouragement, tranquillity and comfort.—After such a division, it is clear that Reform can no longer be withheld. It is clear, we say, that when so powerful a majority is backed by such unanimous determination as confessedly inspires the whole people of England, there is nothing to resist the formidable confederacy but some exertion of physical force. Whence,

then, is such an enemy to be dreaded, or by whom employed? It is a chimera! Yet there are those who think not so. There are men struck with total blindness, or those by whose imperfect vision nothing save monstrous or unreal objects are perceptible. In looking over the list of Saturday night's division, we observe small symptoms of amendment on the part of the Tory aristocracy. Sir George Warrender's is the only name which cannot be found in lists of former majorities,—the aggregate of this majority exceeding the minority in a greater degree than on former occasions, because of the diminished attendance of the opposition ranks. But, coming to individuals, Lord Clive and his brother were absent,—intentionally, as is supposed, that they might avoid the division. The Duke of Northumberland's Members, Lord Chandos, Mr. Wortley (Lord Warburton's son), and Mr. Granville Ryder (Lord Harrowby's), voted in the minority; so that it may be fairly presumed that these Noble Lords, who have been so recently professing their conversion to the main principles of the Bill, have relapsed into their ancient inveteracy against Reform. Sir Robert Peel's language was also conclusive as to his uncompromising obstinacy. The question comes, therefore, not "what will the Lords do?"—that, we fear, is too plain—and the nation must in that quarter be prepared for the worst. The question is, will King and Ministers do their duty? We do not mean finally, for that will be of course, but promptly, without hesitation. Will they prove at once their sincerity, energy, and wisdom?—There is but one course,—let the truth be proclaimed throughout the empire,—there is no other course but a creation of Peers—a bold and powerful creation of liberal Peers, or Great Britain, before the summer returns, will be one scene of blood and terror. If Ministers so supported, as they are now supported, by the People and the House of Commons, and by a regard to their own fame and honour,—if they were not to press emphatically and solemnly upon their Sovereign the extreme necessity of the case which has actually arisen, and the paramount importance of an immediate exercise of the prerogative,—it follows that they are a set of men, whom it would be labour thrown away for Press, or Parliament, or the British nation to befriend,—that they would do nothing effectual for the country, which has done so much for them,—nothing to satisfy, nothing to secure it, nothing to arrest; but, speaking negatively, all on their part that could produce a state of anarchy and ruin. Will this happen? We fear it not.—Lord Grey just touches the goal, and attains an eminence to which no preceding Minister dared aspire. It is physically and morally impossible that he should fail now, at the very threshold of the temple.—(Times.)

The champions of the Constitution have "fought the good fight" with manly energy and spirit; and though overpowered for the moment by the mere numbers of the delegates of faction their ultimate success is certain. The immense superiority in debate of the opponents of the measure is the circumstance which (now that all anxiety and eagerness for the fate of the measure itself on the part of the public is at an end) has chiefly attracted attention. We do not hesitate to express our belief that the impression produced upon the country by these two days of triumphant debate will be such as to complete the rescue of the Constitution from the danger which hung over it. The retainers of the Revolutionary Administration, the pledged Members of the House of Commons, who have purchased their seats by the sale of freedom, honour, and conscience, may still cling to Ministers and vote as they command, but their cause nevertheless has received a vital blow, from the effects of which it never can recover. How tame, how feeble, how rapid, and spiritless the apologetical harangues of the Ministerial advocates, by which they strove to defend the numerous and important changes introduced into "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," when we compare them with the fierce denunciations which in former debates upon Reform were levelled against the Constitution of England, and against all who were bold enough to adhere to and defend it. The abatement of energy within the walls of Parliament in the cause of Reform is in proportion to the languor which prevails without. And what was the real question which the House decided by the division of Sunday morning? That it assents to the principle of the Bill it will be said. This is true, only upon the condition that nothing is a principle of the Bill but the simple proposition that some measure of Reform is expedient. If the Committee of the House of Commons will but act as freely with the present measure as his Majesty's Ministers have acted in metamorphosing the last into the present, they may yet send up to the Peers a Bill, not beneficial indeed, for we refuse to acknowledge that any Reform will be beneficial, but as innocuous as can be imagined.—(Post.)

The tithe system in Ireland, even within one short week, outstripped the speculations of the Irish Minister, proving how feeble is the view which he has taken of its effect upon the spirit of the people, and how inadequate in all human probability are the means by which he offers to render it less an object of their abhorrence. Mr. Stanley's policy goes to make the collection of tithes less inconvenient and irritating to the tempers of men; the country cries out against its amount, its nature, application, and existence. If the Irish Secretary supposes that by forcing the Composition Act upon every parish throughout the island, he can secure or facilitate the peaceable collection of the tithe, he assumes much more than the experience of the last few months will warrant. In many of the parishes where the Composition Act has been in operation, the clergyman cannot recover his legal due. He is left to his

remedy, which is—nothing. If Mr. Stanley talks of protecting the rights of the Church, let us ask how these rights can be rendered available, and what are they? He will answer us—"the legal rights," "and to be enforced by law." But what is it that makes law itself of any value? Why, the existence of a power somewhere to enforce it. So long as the people will aid the law, or not oppose to it such a resistance as the Magistrate is unable to put down, just so long is legal right worth any thing. But when all correspondence and fitness cease between the acts of the Legislature and the condition of the society upon which they operate, those laws become a dead letter,—others must be substituted for them. This is the case with the tithe system in Ireland. The Catholics of that country object, not merely to the amount, but to the principle. They say, you ask us for £100 to a clergyman whom we neither see nor hear,—who instructs us not, nor administers religious consolation. We will not pay you, to such a clergyman, who gives us nothing in return. It is vain to disguise the matter, that which we have stated indicates the real question,—the question is, simply, can any tithe, or any equivalent for the actual tithe, be levied much longer upon Irish Catholics to support a Protestant Church! It is a foolish answer to say, "We can maintain the tithe system for ten or twenty years to come, and therefore we will not yet acknowledge the necessity of remodelling our whole Church Establishment." The Legislature ought to take time by the forelock. A well-considered and provident improvement might now be made in the relations between the Established Church and the country, without disturbance, but with an immediate tendency to compose all existing agitation. Wait until the breach widens,—until the confusion thickens,—until artful incendiaries gain more time and scope for their manoeuvres; and see how much farther we shall be compelled to go, than even by the pressure which now affects us. A commutation of tithe, which shall bestow permanently on the Established Church of Ireland a revenue at all equal to that which she now (nominally) possesses, will not be received with satisfaction by the country, and will therefore be trouble thrown away. For the present generation of clergymen, even the wildest adversary of the Church respects their life-interest, and renounces any wish to molest them. But whatever measure may be contemplated as a final one, must be framed so as to reduce the sum total of the revenue now applied to the service of the Established Church, and to provide one of moderate and fair amount for the clergy of another persuasion. Various modes of effecting this object have been suggested, and from a great variety of quarters.—The mere Composition Act will not do. It still leaves the hostile contact between the Protestant clergy and Catholic laity unbroken. Some will have land purchased for the Protestant ministers; but whence can be obtained the capital for such an enormous outlay? A correspondent recommends that land should be taken by the vestry, and leased out again at a low rent to the poor, and that, by some process which we cannot understand, the clergyman is to be supported out of the profit rent thus derived from the peasant. This, we think, may be disposed of without much hesitation. A third proposal is that of a general Land Tax, applicable to the maintenance of the clergy of both persuasions, and to the additional purposes of a Poor Rate. This, in its outline at least, is bold and simple. Whether any Parliament upon which we can speculate as likely soon to be chosen, will have courage to entertain so broad a scheme of Church and Poor Law, is more than we can guess; but one fact seems to be quite unquestionable,—viz., that if things proceed a little longer in their present course, the Established Church will have but a nominal existence in Ireland; and whatever laws are then to be made, must look more to revive than to preserve it. The horrible massacre which has recently taken place, however connected with the tithe system, ought not to be treated, and shall not by us be treated, as if the massacre of so many public officers were directly imputable to the State, and that the brutal peasantry who murdered them were to be upheld as ministers of offended justice. Whatever may be the vices of the tithe tax, or the rashness with which the legal rights claimed under it may be exercised by some of the clergy, the redress must be afforded by the Legislature alone; or if extorted in the shape of inhuman butchery by the multitude, a severe and signal punishment must be inflicted on the guilty, or the landlord's claim to rent will be the next thing refused on pain of death to his receiver, and every law by which property of any kind is protected will be held in universal derision. It has been insinuated by some of the Irish letters that the police were the aggressors; we do not believe a word of it. Why did the country people surround them by thousands, armed with pitchforks and other weapons? Was it for a bloody outrage, or for innocent pleasure? This furious resistance to the law must be grappled with, and, at every risk, must be crushed and annihilated.—(Times.)

The dreadful affray in the county of Kilkenny between the police and the peasantry adds one to the many melancholy proofs already afforded of the incompatibility of the tithe system of Ireland with order and good Government. If we wish to preserve the Union, we ought to act in such a manner as to take from the Irish all desire of separation. It was remarked by Dumourier, in his advice which he gave, in his exile, to the Crowned Heads of Europe, that if they wished to secure their States from becoming the theatre of Revolution, they should make justice the rule of their Government; for, by redressing the grievances and ameliorating the condition of their subjects, they

could alone hope to withstand the French, whose success was chiefly derived from the disposition of the people every where to join them against their rulers. Coercion produces only external obedience; the disposition to resent remains unaffected by it. Of this Ireland affords abundant proofs. Hitherto the wishes of the people have never been consulted. Coercion has been the rule, and the rule has only been relaxed when the power to maintain it ceased to be possessed. At the same time we do not blame Ministers for not going the whole length of the wishes of the people of Ireland with regard to the Protestant Church Establishment, because we do not believe that the tenure of any Ministers in this country is such as to enable them to do more than temporise. We merely wish to guard against the delusion that it is possible to satisfy the people of Ireland by half measures. Till all those who profess the Catholic religion feel themselves in every respect on an equal footing with the Protestants, it is impossible to suppose they will be satisfied. The very existence of comparatively a handful of people in the northern section of this island, in which the Protestant Episcopalians are dissenters, will always remind the Irishman of the humiliating difference which the law has made between himself and the Scotchman.—We repeat, that till the people of Ireland obtain, under the connexion with this country, all that they could hope to obtain under a separate Legislature, the Union never can be properly cemented. If we wish to become one people, we must abolish all odious and humiliating distinctions. Mr. Stanley, we learn, is to commute Irish tithes for land. The substitute of land for tithes would, no doubt, be a great relief to the clergy of the Protestant Church, and it would put an end to the endless collision between them and the peasantry. But independently of the objections to the withdrawing so much land from commerce, to be added to the immense estates already at the disposal of a religious Corporation, and which, we have heard, are the worst cultivated of the lands of the districts in which they are situated—the objections of the Catholics in point of principle would remain the same. On what principle of justice, they ask, can a sinecure Church engross all the revenues assigned to the religious instruction of the people? The Protestant Episcopalians are not the ninth part of the people of Ireland—they are hardly to be found at all in two of the provinces. If it be said, that though the Protestant Episcopalians be the minority in Ireland, yet, taking England and Ireland together, the Protestant Episcopalians form the majority. But this argument leaves utility out of the question; for of what avail is it to establish teachers of one religion where the people belong to another? And leaving utility out of the question, we give to the Irish who see themselves thus held of so little account, a strong motive for a separate Government, in which their own wants will be duly considered. Tithes may at present be said to be abolished. The people have determined no longer to pay them; and such is the power of the combination, that the law remains a dead letter. The question thus far is settled; for where a law is not sanctioned by the persuasion of a people that it is for their interest to obey it, it must be a dead letter.—(CHRONICLE.)

The *Chronicle* contains an article on the causes of discontent that prevails in Ireland, but we have to observe that the complaints of the Irish are so numerous that the very best Government could not remove them all. More than half of them have no foundation in truth; but it is probably because there are real grievances that the agitators find it easy to create anger against imaginary abuses; and the best way of reducing the power of those who are interested in keeping up excitement is to correct real evil, and to open the eyes of the Irish people to the practical effects of an interposition between them and the desolating system under which they have long suffered. The appointment of a Committee to inquire into the best means of amending the tithe system is an excellent thing; but it must not be a sleeping Committee. If we wish to cement the Union with Ireland, we must be as active in doing good and removing all just cause for complaint, as the agitators are in exciting the people to rebel against the laws. The *Times* has grappled boldly with the question, and although no persons breathing can be more friendly to the Established Church than we are, we must in sincerity observe, that it is against the principle as well as against the mode of collecting tithes in Ireland that the Catholics complain. What is there to prevent a liberal allowance being provided for the Protestant Clergy in Ireland without taxing those of another faith, or at least without taxing those so highly? We would have the property of the church, as it is called, respected to its greatest extent, during the lives of the present possessors; but as the church possesses no property independent of the State, we may legislate for the succeeding generation without injustice to any, and with real benefit to all.—(COURIER.)

Stock Exchange, Dec. 20, Twelve o'clock.—Consols are heavy to-day, without, however, any particular cause being assigned for it; they opened at 83½; they are now 83¼.

Two o'clock.—Consols are unvaried. In the Foreign Market some transactions are reported. French Five per Cent. 97½ 98½; ditto Threes, 68½ 69½; Russian, 90½; Spanish, 14½ 15½; Danish, 65½ 66; Dutch, 41½ 42½; Greek, 23 24; Portuguese, 50½; Scrip of the new loan, ¼ pm.; Brazilian, 43½ 44½; Mexican, 36½; Chilean, 18½; Columbian, 12½; Peruvian, 11 12.

Three o'clock.—Consols remain at 83¼. We have received by the packet-ship Britannia, in seventeen days from New York, Papers to the 1st inst.

, the more they want

